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THE PEACE PARTY AND ITS POLICY.

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SPEECH

OF

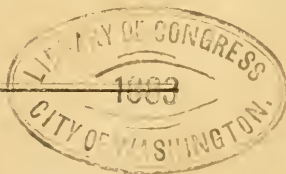
ISAAC JENKINSON,

AT

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA,

MARCH 16. 1863

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"THERE CAN BE NO NEUTRALS IN THIS WAR. THERE CAN BE NONE
BUT PATRIOTS AND TRAITORS."—*Stephen A. Douglas.*

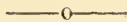


FORT WAYNE, IND.:

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S P E E C H .



At a meeting of the Union men of Fort Wayne and vicinity, on Monday Evening, March 16th, 1863, Mr. Jenkinson being called on, spoke as follows.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

I cheerfully respond to your call this evening. I am ready and willing, at all times, on all occasions, and under all circumstances, "to give a reason for the hope that is in me." The terrible conflict our government is waging, for its very existence, demands that every patriotic citizen should speak out boldly, unconditionally, for the integrity of the Union. The greatest danger lies not in the armies of rebellion. All around us, in secret conclave, are the midnight plotters of disunion. Already do their works proclaim their purposes. Deep mutterings and fierce threatenings assail us on every side. Bad men, insidiously at work, inflaming the worst passions of the people. Bitter in their denunciation of every thing done calculated to suppress the rebellion. Like the Pharisees of old, who assailed our Savior with the question: "Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the Sabbath day?" they are constantly questioning the right of the people to save the country. "Stop fighting, Make an armistice—no formal treaty. Withdraw your army from the seceded States. Reduce both armies to a fair and sufficient peace establishment. Declare absolute free trade between the North and the South. Buy and sell. Agree upon a Zollverein. Recall your fleets. Break up your blockades. Reduce your navy. Restore travel. Open up railroads. Re-establish the telegraph.—Re-unite your express companies. No more Monitors and iron-clads, but set your friendly steamers and steamships again in motion. Visit the North and West. Visit the South. Exchange newspapers. Migrate. Intermarry. Let slavery alone. Hold elections at the appointed times. Choose a new President in 1864," etc., etc., is the proclamation of one who is high priest in this order of unconditional submissionists.

Compromise! Acknowledge the Confederacy! Have peace on any terms! no matter how degrading or disastrous it may be to the government! The rallying cry of this "Peace Party" is not a new one in the history of our country. But every party that has ever uttered it, at the expense of honor and patriotism, has been branded with an infamy that eternity will not efface. It was proclaimed by the Tories of the Revolution,—echoed by the Hartford Convention

Federalists of 1812,—adopted by the disunionists of the South, and now renewed by their sympathisers in the North and West.

“Peace, sir, peace is what we want for the restoration of the Federal Union and the preservation of constitutional liberty,” were among the last words uttered, in the American Senate, by the late Vice President, now a general commanding in the disunion army. And these words have become the *Shibboleth* of submissionists, from that day to this, everywhere throughout the loyal States of the Union.

When treason, like the vulture in the classic myth, was gorging itself upon the vitals of our country; when traitors were found in the Cabinet, in the halls of Congress, on the judicial bench, in every department of our government, from the highest to the humblest, this cry of peace, peace, was proclaimed to cover up and conceal their evil machinations. While traitorous hands were shearing our sleeping government of its strength, robbing our arsenals and armories, stealing and appropriating the money from our treasury, dispersing our army and scattering our navy to the ends of the earth, the land was still vocal with the traitorous cry of “peace, peace, all is well.” And when these schemes of treason had culminated, when State after State was raising the standard of revolt, confederating to destroy the Union, trampling upon the constitution and bidding defiance to the laws, seizing upon forts and navy yards, and turning the government’s own guns against its life, an astonished and remonstrant people were answered, with the perfection of impudence, “Let us alone, we only want to live in peace.”

But the time came to drop this hypocritical cry of peace by southern traitors, and, after a brief space, to be taken up and prolonged by their allies of the North. The little band of brave men who held Fort Sumter, in the face of an overpowering multitude of rebels, were attacked, and compelled to the shame, for the first time in our history, of lowering the flag of our Union to traitors in arms. The boom of cannon, on the pleasant Sabbath day that witnessed this desecration, reverberated through every part of the country. Rebellion unmasked, stood forth armed to the teeth. The West and North, so long lulled by the deceptive cry of peace and compromise, arose almost as one man to avenge the insult and protect the government. In the wailing language of a leading submissionist, in the halls of Congress,

— “The storm raged with the fury of a hurricane. Never in history was anything equal to it. Men, women and children, native and foreign born, church and state, clergy and laymen, were all swept along with the current. Distinctions of age, sex, station, party, perished in an instant. Thousands bent before the tempest; and here and there only was one found bold enough, foolhardy enough, it may have been, to bend not, and upon him it fell as a

‘consuming fire. * * * * Five men and half a score of
‘newspapers made up the opposition.”

Such was the spontaneous outburst of patriotism that thrilled the hearts of the people. Party animosities were forgotten. Prejudices were uprooted. Distinctions were leveled. Caste and condition were obliterated. The politician and the scholar, the minister and layman, rich and poor, old and young, male and female, all rallied to the support of the government. Meetings were held. Words of glowing patriotism were uttered. Universal enthusiasm prevailed. Never was such unanimity known. Proud day for America. Teaching a lesson to demagogues in all ages to come, that the great masses of the people, when left to their own honest convictions, are true as the needle to the pole, in their devotion to their country. That when left free from the influence and wiles of bad men, they can do all, dare all, sacrifice all for their country's good. A people worthy their rich inheritance,—the freest, grandest government on earth.

But mingling in this enthusiasm, loud in their utterances of loyalty, were many who had only “bent before the tempest.” Unable to control, they would ride upon the whirlwind. Old political sinners who had never worshipped but at the shrine of party—who knew no fealty but party obligations. Their patriotism was assumed. Their enthusiasm was for a purpose. To them the seceded states were “erring sisters.” Bloodthirsty traitors were “misguided brethren.” In their hearts they would rather the government should be destroyed by former political friends, than saved by political opponents.—They could not believe the government worth preserving, unless preserved for their party, therefore the party in power must be overthrown. The President must be assailed. His administration must be rendered unpopular. His efforts to save the government must be denounced. He must be branded as usurper, tyrant, despot. The traitorous cry of peace was revived. The old creed of the “Blue Light” Federalists was dragged from its tomb of infamy and proclaimed anew. Midnight meetings of mischief plotting traitors were assembled. A party for “peace on any terms” was organized. And our gallant soldiers, who had gone by thousands, with their lives in their hands, to battle for the perpetuity of free institutions, suddenly found an enemy in their rear, meaner and more dangerous than the enemy in front.

Let us for a moment compare the “Peace Party” of 1812 with the “Peace Party” of to-day. It is no part of my purpose to examine the causes that led to that war. Enough to know that when our country was struggling with a powerful foe, in defence of the rights of American citizens, a party arose, in sympathy with the enemy, assailed the government, obstructing its efforts toward a successful prosecution of the war, and in every way possible rendering aid and comfort to our assailants. When the gallant Commodore Decatur, was for

months confined with his fleet to New London harbor, closely watched by an overpowering British squadron, a "Blue Light Telegraph" was concocted, by these traitors, to communicate his every movement to the enemy. Thus rendering ineffectual every attempt he made to escape. He writes on the 20th December, 1813, to the Secretary of the Navy.

"Some few nights since, the weather promised an opportunity for this squadron to get to sea; and it was said on shore that we intended to make the attempt.— In the course of the evening, two Blue Lights were burnt on both the points at the harbor's mouth, as signals to the enemy; and there is not a doubt, but that they have, by signals and otherwise, instantaneous information of our movements. Great but unsuccessful efforts have been made to detect those who communicate with the enemy by signals."

Again, the *National Advertiser*, of March 15th, 1814, says that on the Tuesday evening preceding,

"There was at that place a considerable storm of snow and rain, and the appearance of the weather being favorable for our squadron to put to sea, Commodore Decatur issued an order, requiring all his officers on shore to repair without delay on board their respective vessels. Shortly after this, Blue Lights were thrown up like rockets from Long Point, and distinctly seen by the officers at Fort Trumbull, and by the officers and men on board the look-out boats. They were answered by three heavy guns from the ships of the enemy, at intervals of about fifteen minutes. The lights were continued through the night."

This was only one among the many means resorted to, by the "Peace Party" of that time, to assist our enemy in arms. But it was in the infamous Hartford Convention they first formally proclaimed their opposition to the government, and set forth their purposes. In the address and resolutions adopted by that body, we find an identity of purpose with the submissionists of the present day. The address adopted, but afterwards vainly attempted to be suppressed by them, dwells upon the following points:

That the acts of the government becoming insupportable it was necessary, in the opinion of that body, to devise suitable means to avert or resist them.

That the afflictions brought upon the country by the war with England were the results of a weak and profligate administration of the government by Mr. Madison; and that the President, with all other officers of the government who had approved that policy, ought to be dismissed with disgrace.

That one portion of the Union had imposed on another a *sectional policy*; that if this policy was not abandoned the Union would have failed in its purposes.

That if the Union were to be dissolved, through the abuses of a bad administration it should be done in peace and not by war.

That if the evils they complained of, were to be permanent, then a separation of States would be desirable, as better than a forced alliance among nominal friends but real enemies.

That in such event, a confederacy between such States only as were able to maintain a federal relation, should be adopted.

That there existed a combination to perpetuate the government in the hands of the President's friends That none but partizan friends were appointed to office. That the constitution had been violated. That the admission of new States had destroyed the balance of power among the States. And that the administration was acting upon a visionary and superficial theory in regard to commerce, accompanied by a feigned regard, but real hatred to its interests, and ruinous perseverance in efforts to render it an instrument of *coercion and war*. And, finally, they recommended that the true friends of the country, should rally in their united strength and place the constitution in the hands of those who alone were able to save it.

How familiarly upon the ear fall the terms of that address. How exactly in the footsteps of the Tories of that day tread the submissionists of this. Now, as then, the administration by its acts is outraging the rights of the people, and means must be adopted to "avert or resist them." Lincoln, like Madison, is "weak and profligate," and should be dismissed in disgrace. Now, as then, the whole trouble originated with a "*sectional party*" and a "*sectional policy*," which have brought on the war and will lead to disunion. Stop fighting and agree, by compromise, on the terms of secession, was the traitorous cry of fifty years ago and is re-echoed to-day. "Nominal friends, but real enemies." "Perpetuating power in the hands of the President." "Partisan friends." "Violating the constitution."—"Coercion and war," etc., etc. What familiar phrases—and every one of them stolen from the "Blue Light" Federalists of 1812.

The first and principal resolution adopted by that body is so exactly in accordance with the spirit of the opposition manifested at this time, against the acts of Congress, that I give it entire. It is in these words:

"Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the legislatures of the several States represented in this convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said States from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions *subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible draft, conscription, or impressment*, not authorized by the constitution of the United States."

They, too, like the advocates of the Crittenden resolutions of the present day, were dissatisfied with the constitution, and presented a long string of amendments which they insisted should be adopted for the pacification of the country. Calling upon the States, in case their pretended grievances were not redressed in their way, to meet in a general peace convention in Boston, to take such steps "as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require."

Such were the traitorous acts of the Peace Party of 1812, and it is a revival of their policy, in every important particular, that the submissionists are now so industriously engaged in effecting.

What will be the result? Just as sure as the same cause always produces the same effect, will the eternity of infamy, that rests on the traitors of that war, gather and fasten upon the memory of those who would now basely betray their country. Fifty years hence, the cheek will tingle with shame, and the head will bow in degradation of him who is so unfortunate as to be descended from a rebel sympathizer in the Great Rebellion. The whole world will hold their memory accursed.

I have shown you the origin of these peace men, you will not, therefore, be surprised to find them engaged in waging a factious opposition toward the administration. With a strange inconsistency, they are urging, at the same time, a compromise on the basis of the Crittenden resolutions, and the preservation of "the Union as it was and the constitution as it is." Compromise they know is utterly impossible. That secessionists have spurned their propositions—have spit upon them—and with a scorn they did not attempt to conceal, have denounced and defied them. Even during the discussion of the peace offering made by the Kentucky Senator, when submissionists were hastening, with eager hands, to tear our constitution to pieces, and reconstruct it on any terms to please the South, they were rebuked for their craven spirit by the Senator from Texas, (Mr. WIGFALL) who said:

"Believing,—no, sir, not believing, but knowing—that this Union is dissolved, never, never to be reconstructed upon any terms—not if you were to hand us blank paper, and ask us to write a constitution, would we ever again be confederated with you. * * * Then knowing that the Union is dissolved, that reconstruction is impossible, I would, myself, had I been counseled by the Union-savers, have told them that Union-saving was impracticable."

Not even when that Senator, in the course of the same discussion, taunted them with their baseness, and dared them to resent the insults cast upon the flag of our country, did they arouse from their abject course of submission. Referring to the attack on an unarmed vessel, going with provisions to save from starvation the little band of patriots confined with Major Anderson in Fort Sumter, he said.

"The Star of the West swaggered into Charleston harbor, received a blow planted full in the face, and staggered out. *Your flag has been insulted, redress it, if you dare. You have submitted to it for two months, and you will submit to it forever.*"

And he was answered by one of these submissionists, (Mr. Rice of Minnesota,) in imploring terms not to talk of war.

"I wish to say to the Senator, and to the Senate of the United States, that but a few weeks ago, my State, so far as I am advised, considered that the greatest calamity that could befall this country was secession; but I believe they now consider a civil war to be a greater calamity than secession. We will do all that we honorably can to keep the Southern States with us, but if they are determined to leave us they must go in peace."

It is such replies as this, to the braggadocio and bluster of the south, that have taught them to believe we were a race of dastards and cowards. No wonder they thought they could drive us, as they drive their slaves, into submission and obedience.

And when the rebels, themselves, had commenced the war, had attacked and destroyed Fort Sumter, had levied an army and were menacing the capital of our country, the President's call for a force to repel them was received by these rebel sympathisers with earnest appeals not to attempt coercion. Though the rebels were threatening to carry the war into the loyal States, and proclaiming that they would soon be able to dictate terms of peace from the halls of our national capitol, the President was still counseled against employing force, to protect the government and enforce an observance of the laws. From the earnest manner in which they rang the changes on this term "coercion," one would have thought it was some strange and barbarous means of oppression, worse than the Inquisition or the Bastile. And yet it is a simple, every-day recognized element of government. No government could exist a single moment without it. Why, sir, all over the land, wherever you see a court house, you find a temple of coercion; wherever you meet a judge or sheriff, a justice or a constable, you find ministers of coercion. All our laws are full of it; and it is the exercise of this right of government that has made us a free, a happy, and a prosperous people. But they do not object to the coercion of an individual, if he steals his neighbor's horse, or destroys his property, he should be punished. If he commits murder he should be hanged. But the President must not enforce the laws against the rebels, they may steal, destroy and murder, but do not resent it, do not coerce them to obedience, they are the chivalrous sons of the South, and are above all law!

Coupled with the term coercion was heard that other terrifying phantom—"Subjugation." Will you, dare you, attempt to subjugate the South? was indignantly demanded of the loyal North. I answer yes; I would subjugate every man of them. Just as the loyal people of the North are all subjects of our government, and in subjection to its laws, would I have the southern people subjugated. No loyal man in the country is too high or too low to be a subject of our government, and in subjection to the constitution and the laws. Just as Abraham Lincoln is a subject of the government he is administering—just as you and I are subjects of the same government, and bound by its laws, would I have every man of the South subjugated. Subjugation, much as the word has been perverted, means nothing more than this. If the rebel Davis, with a hundred men at his back, or a hundred thousand, attempts to resist the laws and overthrow the government, I would subjugate him—compel him to obey the laws and respect the government. So would I subjugate any northern rebel who should attempt the same resistance. It is by perverting plain words like these that the submissionists of the northern States.

have attempted to seduce and mislead the people. They know that every people who are bound by laws and respect them, are subjugated, and that every government with power sufficient to enforce obedience to its laws, is a coercive government. And they know that all that is meant or intended by coercing or subjugating the southern people, is simply to require them to acknowledge the "Union as it was and the constitution as it is," and to obey the laws. Let them become loyal citizens and they will not need to be coerced or subjugated.

I come now to another question upon which these submissionists have arraigned the administration, and denounced the President as a tyrant and despot. I mean the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and the arrest of those suspected of disloyal practices. No truly loyal man has ever suffered, or can possibly suffer, through the exercise of this power by the President. It is only those whose acts are too suspicious to be loyal, or verge so closely upon treason as not to be distinguished from it, who have every cause to fear. It is not strange that these complain. Like their great prototype, the tory, McFingal, they think

"All punishments the world can render
Serve only to provoke th' offender,
No man e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law."

I would not treat this subject lightly. The writ of *habeas corpus* is an inestimable privilege, and should only be suspended in extreme cases. Our constitution has therefore properly declared, that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." In a rebellion like the present, whenever the public safety makes it necessary, this privilege may be suspended, and the only question that can arise, under the constitution, is, as to who may judge of the necessity. Its suspension never being allowed, only in time of war, and for war purposes, it clearly follows that the necessity can only be determined by those who have charge of the war. As a military necessity only, it must be determined by the military authorities alone. As the highest military officer known to our laws—the commander-in-chief of the army and navy—the President has, undoubtedly, the right to exercise the power, whenever in his judgment the safety of the country may demand it. Nor is he confined in the exercise of this power to the States alone where the armies of rebellion are gathered. The whole United States are engaged in this war. War exists as much in Indiana as in any other State. And if the enemies of the government are found in Indiana, engaged in disloyal practices, the President's right to suspend this writ, and arrest these enemies, is as full and complete as in any other State of the Union.

The Congress of the United States have decided—and the Ameri-

can people have fully acquiesced in that decision—that the suspension of this writ is a military necessity and properly exercised by the military authorities. I refer, of course, to the case of Gen. Jackson at New Orleans. That case was precisely similar to those complained of now. Jackson arrested Louaillier, a member of the Legislature, for publishing a seditious article in a New Orleans paper, stimulating the people to disobedience of the orders of the General, just as the people are now being stimulated to resist the conscription act. On Louaillier's application, Judge Hall issued his writ of *habeas corpus*. Jackson not only disobeyed it but arrested the judge. Afterwards Judge Hall assessed a fine against Jackson for contempt of court, which fine was refunded to him by the Congress of the United States, and his conduct in the whole matter fully approved. In the discussions arising in Congress, upon the proposition to sustain Gen. Jackson and refund the amount of his fine, many able speeches were made, taking strong ground not only in favor of the constitutional right of a general to suspend the privilege of this writ, but as a right of self defense above all law. Upon this point Judge Douglas, then a member of the House of Representatives, is reported by Mr. BENTON, in his Debates, to have said:

“Talk about illegality! Talk about formalities! Why, there was but one formality to be observed; and that was the formality of directing the cannon, and destroying the enemy, regardless of the means, whether it be by the seizure of cotton bags, or the seizure of persons, if the necessity of the case required it.—The God of nature has conferred this right on men and nations; and therefore let him not be told it was unconstitutional. To defend the country, let him not be told that it was unconstitutional to use the necessary means. The constitution was adopted for the protection of the country; and under the constitution the nation had a right to exercise all the powers that were necessary for the protection of the country. If martial law was necessary to the salvation of the country, martial law was legal for that purpose. If it was necessary for a judge, for the preservation of order, to punish for contempt, he thought it was necessary for a general to exercise control over his cannon, to imprison traitors, and to arrest spies, and to intercept communications with the enemy. If this was necessary, then all this was legal.”

As a precedent this settles the question. And the clamor now raised against the President for his arrest of suspected traitors, and his suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, is only for partisan purposes. And made by men who regard the overthrow of the party in power, and the success of their own party, as of far greater consequence, than the suppression of the rebellion.

But it is not alone his party that the “peace man” of the present day exalts above the constitution and the Union. Far more precious to him, than the preservation of the government, is the institution of Slavery. No matter if it does give aid and comfort to the rebellion, it is a sacred, God-given right, and must not be profaned by the unholy hand of war. Slavery he knows is the end and object of this rebellion. That Vice President Stevens has declared that it is to be “the corner stone of the confederacy.” And that a leading rebel

senator has impiously proclaimed, that they intended spreading "the blessings of slavery, like the religion of our divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth." He knows if the traitors should succeed in overthrowing our government, they would establish slavery in every State of the Union. He knows too that slavery is in direct conflict with the declared purposes of the constitution. That while it exists we cannot have "a more perfect Union," "establish justice," "secure domestic tranquility," or provide for the "common defence" or "general welfare." And he knows that a contest, "the grandest, the bloodiest and the saddest in history" is being waged between his government and slavery, and knowing that no man can serve two masters, he deliberately proclaims himself against freedom and his country. Professing a desire to preserve the "Union as it was, and the constitution as it is," he is loud in his advocacy of the Crittenden compromise, the object of which was to change the constitution and exalt the slave power. He is willing to violate and destroy the constitution to serve the purposes of slavery, but not to save the government.

Forgetting the danger to the government and the Union, thinking only of slavery and its preservation, the emancipation proclamation of the President, is denounced by these peace men, because, that while it may help to save the country, it may destroy the god of their idolatry. Their pretended fear of secession is swallowed up in their greater dread of abolitionism. All who are not willing to sacrifice the white man's liberty, to perpetuate the black man's slavery, are worse than traitors. Amalgamation and Negro equality, are their greatest terror. Let me assure them the Union men of the country will not interfere with their rights in these respects. They are old, long enjoyed and secured to them by prescription. The secessionist of the South, or the submissionist of the North, may enjoy, without let or hindrance, his taste in this matter. Union men love their country better than they love the Negro. It is only among secessionists that amalgamation is found. There are more mulattoes in Virginia to-day than in all the loyal States combined. I say, if a white man is mean enough to be the father of a mulatto child, he is not too good to marry its mother. And if his conscience should trouble him for his wrong, and he should wish to make reparation, in God's name, let him do it, the degradation will not be on his part.

But let me examine this with seriousness. I confess I approach the subject with humiliation. The idea advanced by these proslavery fanatics is so degrading to humanity that I loath to entertain it, or discuss it for even a moment. The idea that the masses of our white population are so enamored of the black, that only the most stringent laws will prevent their rushing to their arms. I remember some years ago, our own State of Indiana, carried away with this idea, enacted a law that when a young man applied for a marriage license, he was required to make oath, or prove by unquestionable evidence, that his betrothed was not a negro wench. The law shock-

and the sensibilities of our people. Young men would not submit to the humiliation. They would not allow the degrading reflection to be cast upon their loved ones. The women rebelled with their whole souls against the enactment. What! not allowed to marry until they first proved they were not Negresses! Public opinion forced the repeal of the law. It is the same degrading distrust of the people that would revive it now. But do white men show any such predilection for black wives? Certainly not in the free States. I know we have rarely and at long intervals a disgusting case of the kind. But it is only in defiance of the tastes and feelings of the white race, and would not be prevented if our statute books were full of enactments against it. Marriage is the result of similarity of tastes, habits and temperament. If these assimilate more nearly to the black than the white race, the man will seek him a wife from among the blacks. The liberation of the slaves will not change this disposition in the white man. The most disgusting instance on record, because the man descended from the highest position, and was endowed with the highest mental ability, was one where a slave woman was selected for a wife. Not an abolitionist either, but one whom the pro-slavery democracy loved to honor. One who has filled the high position of Vice President of the United States. Superior as he may have been intellectually, socially he was no more than the equal of this slave woman. And thus it will ever be, in spite of laws, in disregard of public taste, occasionally a man will be found so low in the social life as to be only the equal of the negro race. No law can elevate him and none can prevent him seeking a congenial union. Emancipation will not make these more frequent. Neither will emancipation equalize the races in other respects. Mentally, physically, morally the Negro will remain the same. If in the new light of freedom that may dawn upon his soul, he can rise up and feel himself more the man his Creator intended him to be, it will only make him better for life's purposes, and in no degree lessen the white man's boasted superiority.

But it is said if emancipation is proclaimed, and the slaves set free, the North will be overrun by the freed negroes. Is this true? What says experience upon this point? It is a well known fact that there are more free negroes now in the fifteen slave States than in the nineteen free States of the Union. No race is more attached, and clings more devotedly, to the locality of birth, than the Negro. Maryland with a population of 84,000 free negroes, and Virginia with 58,000, show that not more than two per cent of the whole were born without their respective States. Thus they are willing to endure the greatest degradation, in a land where their race is enslaved, just on the borders of our free States, rather than leave the graves of their ancestors. How much more would they cling to that land, if the curse of slavery was removed, and the Negro recognized as a man? Virginia has more than 20,000 free negroes more than Ohio, and Missouri three times as many as Iowa. Thus

upon the very threshold of freedom, with every inducement to migrate, they will not do it. By remaining, they are simply obeying a peculiarity of their race, and one that will fasten them, with ten times more devotion to the south, when they are allowed there to own the product of their own labor.

Neither will the North be overruled, by the negro race, should we all turn abolitionists. On the contrary, if the pro-slavery partizans are honest in their declarations of dislike of the negroes, I would advise them to turn abolitionists to avoid them. It has been clearly demonstrated, by a distinguished hater of the negro race, Mr. Cox, of Ohio, that the black men shun the abolitionists and cling to the pro-slavery democrats with strange tenacity. In a late speech in Congress, he says, that in his own district, composed of the counties of Licking, Franklin and Pickaway, (which gave four thousand majority last fall, for the peace party ticket,) there are 2660 blacks.—While in the late district of Mr. Giddings, the great abolition district of Ohio, there are but 166! In the county in which Mr. Cox resides, Franklin, a pro-slavery county, there are 1578 negroes, while in ten of the worst abolition counties of the Western Reserve there are but 1854, as follows.

Ashtabula,	-	-	25	Trumbull,	-	-	80
Cuyahoga, (Cleveland)	-	894		Geauga,	-	-	7
Lake,	-	-	36	Lorain, (Oberlin)	-	-	549
Mahoning,	-	-	61	Medina	-	-	38
Portage	-	-	76	Summit,	-	-	88
Total,				1854			

The county of that arch abolitionist, Joshua R. Giddings, having only 25 negroes within it. And speaking of the Toledo district, represented by Mr. Ashley, so much abused for being an abolitionist, Mr. Cox says: "Yet from the whole eleven counties of his district, he cannot count as many negroes by half as live in my own county."

And in our own State does the same test hold good. Of the entire number of negroes, reported by the census of 1860, in Indiana, a large majority are found in those counties that gave majorities for the peace party ticket at the last election. Our Congressional district, (the 10th) is an illustration. This district is composed of eight counties, four of these cast majorities for Mr. Edgerton and four for Mr. Mitchell. In the district are 218 negroes, divided among the counties as follows:

Counties that gave maj. for Edgerton.		Counties that gave maj. for Mitchell.	
Allen	63	Kosciusko	2
Dekalb	15	Lagrange	16
Elkhart	20	Noble	8
Whitley	92	Steuben	2
Total,	190	Total,	28

Showing that in the four counties that gave majorities for Mr. Edgerton are found seven-eighths of all the negroes in the district.

Thus it is clear that abolitionism has no attraction for the negro race, but that they prefer to associate with the friends of their southern masters. Perhaps it is,

"A fellow feeling makes them wondrous kind."

The same tender regard that induces these submissionists of the North to gather the negro race about them, also impels them to oppose their employment in defense of the government. While the rebel Davis is forcing, by conscription, into the ranks of his army, all classes of people, white and black, bond and free; while he is perpetrating all kinds of atrocities on our friends, firing our hospitals, murdering in cold blood our wounded soldiers in his hands, even arming with scalping knife and tomahawk the merciless savages on our frontier, we are called on to treat him as a manly, chivalrous opponent. To have a tender regard for his feelings, and to protect his property. When the rebel slave owners have sent their slaves to dig the ditches, and erect the fortifications that strengthen and sustain the rebellion, our soldiers have been sent to guard the houses and protect the families of these traitorous masters. And when we would change all this, and leave the rebels to take care of themselves, accept the services of loyal blacks, gladly tendered to do the hard work of our own soldiers, a hue and cry is raised by these submissionists, and the country is full of lamentations for a violated constitution. When these blacks come to us, with willing hands and loyal hearts, anxious to be employed, willing to give us information, offering to dig our trenches, fight for us, do anything for us, if we will only let them, what should be our reply? Should we drive them off, send them back to work for the rebels, tell them we choose to let our gallant volunteers be sacrificed, sweltering beneath a southern sun, in labors for which they are unfit, rather than to accept their services? That we do not want their aid, that we do not want their information, but to go back and obey their masters? Such would be the answer of those whose hearts are overflowing with sympathy for rebellion, but have no thought for the brave boys who are drooping, day by day, beneath the heavy burdens of a soldier's life, sacrificing all save honor for the very men who thus forget them.

But I must hasten to a conclusion. I have said enough of this Peace Party and its policy, to convince any candid man that it is only a factious organization, with the sole purpose of thwarting the administration in the prosecution of the war, and thereby to aid the rebellion. God knows, if peace could be obtained upon honorable terms—and only such in my judgment can be honorable as will preserve the integrity of the Union—I would embrace it with my whole soul. But I firmly believe, in the words of the dead Douglas, that the only road to a permanent peace is by "the most stupendous

and unanimous preparations for war," and by sustaining the administration and the army with the whole energy of a united people.— Those who are engaged in the unholy work of sowing dissensions among us, are guilty of the most stupendous crime upon earth. It is a crime against the thousands who are battling for liberty on the field of death. It is a crime against that government which is the last remaining hope of liberty on earth. It is a crime against oppressed humanity everywhere throughout the world. And it is a crime against the God of nations who has blessed us above and beyond all other people.

Let us then who love our country above all else, work unceasingly for harmony and united action, not for partisan purposes, not to advance the interests of any man, or set of men, but to preserve our country from destruction. Let our rallying cry be union for the sake of the Union. Let us stand faithfully by the administration in every effort to suppress sedition. In its weakness, where it is weak, let us strengthen it. In its strength, where it is strong, let us aid it, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the country. Let us earnestly labor until there shall arise from the grave of the old patriot, who lies buried at Marshfield, a voice of patriotism, that shall echo and re-echo from every hill-side in New England, until every heart shall thrill with loyal enthusiasm, and every voice shall join in the cry of "*Union and liberty, one and inseparable!*" And as the sound rolls westward, an answering cry may come up from the ashes of the old hero of the Hermitage, which shall be caught up and proclaimed by the hundreds of thousands, who dwell in the valleys of the Great Father of Waters, declaring with one voice, the "FEDERAL UNION, IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."

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